

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 NICOSI 04144 211828Z

41

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 EURE-00 OMB-01 CIEP-01 SR-02 ORM-01 ACDA-05

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0572

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY 4705

S E C R E T NICOSIA 4144

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PFOR CY GR TU

SUBJ: COMMENTS ON CLERIDES PRESS CONFERENCE

REF: NICOSIA 4120

1. SUMMARY: CLERIDES STRESSES THAT HE WILL ONLY CONTINUE NEGOTIATE ON TERMS THAT ARE SPECIFIC, REALISTIC, AND NOT SUBJECT TO AMENDMENT BY MAKARIOS FOLLOWING COMING ATHENS' MEETING. HINTS THAT ANY SETTLEMENT WILL GRANT GREEK CYPRIOTS LESS THAN MOST ANTICIPATE. IMPLIES HIS ADMINISTRATION SUPERIOR TO MAKARIOS' AND MOOTS POSSIBLE DANGERS INVOLVED IN ARCHBISHOP'S RETURN. REFUSES BE DRAWN ON SUBSTANCE MAKARIOS CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER. END SUMMARY.

2. AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE NOVEMBER 20 REPORTED IN SUMMARY REFTEL BEFORE FULL TRANSCRIPT AVAILABLE, CLERIDES CLEARLY SOUGHT SET BEFORE CYPRUS PUBLIC AN UNEQUIVOCAL REPORT OF HIS PAST ACTIVITIES AS NEGOTIATOR AND ACTING PRESIDENT, AS WELL AS HIS FUTURE ROLE, BEFORE DEPARTING ISLAND FOR LONDON MEETING WITH MAKARIOS. BY SO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 NICOSI 04144 211828Z

DOING, HE HAS DEFINED THE FUTURE PARAMETERS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

MOST EMPHATICALLY, CLERIDES STRESSED HIS UNWILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE LOCAL TALKS ON 1968-74 BASIS, WITH ARCHBISHOP KIBITZING FROM SIDELINES. IF MAKARIOS OR GOG FAIL SIGN DOCUMENT SETTING OUT FIRM NEGOTIATING POSITION AFTER ATHENS CONSULTATIONS, CLERIDES WILL NOT INVOLVE HIMSELF FURTHER IN TALKS. SHOULD THIS TRANSPIRE, CLERIDES EXPRESSED SOME DOUBT AS TO WHETHER ANYONE WOULD AGREE TO FILL NEGOTIATING ROLE FOR GREEK CYPRIOTS.

3. THROUGHOUT PRESS CONFERENCE, CLERIDES HINTED THAT NOT ALL GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES WOULD RETURN HOME; THAT THOSE WHO DID MIGHT RETURN TO AREAS UNDER TURKISH CONTROL; AND THAT SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT BEGIN (AND END) BEFORE ALL TURKISH TROOPS WITHDRAWN. THIS WAS STATED IN SEVERAL WAYS: REFUGEES SHOULD RETURN "IN CONDITIONS OF SAFETY"; DOME HOTEL REFUGEES WILL SOON RETURN TO THEIR HOMES "WHICH ARE BEING REPAIRED BY THE TURKS FOR THIS PURPOSE". CLERIDES ALSO SAID THERE "SHOULD BE NO AREAS IN WHICH GREEKS OR TURKISH INHABITANTS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO RESIDE". HE STRESSED THAT "PROPERTIES SHOULD NOT BE "LIQUIDATED"; BUT HE DID NOT RPT NOT SAY ALL REFUGEES SHOULD OR COULD RETURN HOME. EMPHASIS ON RESPECT FOR PRIVATE PROPERTY LEAVES DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT COMPENSATION, RATHER THAN RETURN, IS KEY ISSUE. CLERIDES FORMULATION ON REFUGEE RETURN VERY CLOSE TO THAT PRIVATELY POSED BY SYG REP WECKMANN. BALL NOW IN TURKISH COURT ON FURTHER PROGRESS THIS ISSUE.

4. GENERAL IMPRESSION THAT MANY GREEK CYPRIOTS WILL NOT BE ALLOWED BACK FURTHER STRENGTHENED BY CLERIDES' ARITHMETIC, WHICH DEMONSTRATED THAT CONSIDERABLE ETHNIC SEPARATION HAS ALREADY TAKEN PLACE. ACCORDING HIS FIGURES, 25,000 TURK CYPRIOTS HAVE MOVED NORTH SINCE CEASE-FIRE (IN ADDITION TO 30,000 DISPLACED BY 1963-64 FIGHTING). THIS EMPHASIS ON 1963-64 MIGRATION PUTS MUCH OF BLAME FOR ETHNIC DIVISION ON MAKARIOS. CLERIDES ESTIMATED ONLY 25,000 TURK CYPRIOTS REMAIN IN GREEK CONTROLLED TERRITORY, EXCLUDING THOSE ON WESTERN SBA. (COMMENT: WE THINK THIS FIGURE IS APPROXIMATELY 4,000-6,000 TOO HIGH).

5. FINALLY, CLERIDES IMPLICITLY CONTRASTED HIS STYLE OF GOVT ("I HAVE NEVER CONCEALED ANYTHING THAT IS NECESSARY FOR THE PEOPLE TO KNOW... UNTIL I HAND OVER THE DUTIES I AM CARRYING OUT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, I SHALL TAKE ALL APPROPRIATE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 NICOSI 04144 211828Z

MEASURES TO AVERT ANY ILLEGAL ACTIVITY...") WITH THAT OF MAKARIOS. HE LEFT NO DOUBT THAT, IN HIS VIEW, ARCHBISHOP'S SUPPORTERS ARE PREPARING FOR VIOLENCE AND THAT MAKARIOS' RETURN WILL NOT BE BENEFICIAL FOR CYPRUS. CLOSEST CLERIDES CAME TO ENDORSING MAKARIOS' RESUMPTION OF POWER WAS STATEMENT THAT "TURKS HAVE NO RIGHT TO TELL US WHO SHOULD BE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC JUST AS WE DO NOT STEP IN TO TELL THEM WHO SHOULD BE VICE PRESIDENT". THIS STATEMENT, HOWEVER, RECOGNIZES

LEGALITY OF DENKTASH'S POSITION MORE EXPLICITLY THAN ARCHBISHOP HAS EVER ACCEPTED.

6. RE MAKARIOS' MEETING WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER, CLERIDES NOTED THAT HE HAD BEEN BRIEFED, VIA TELEGRAM FROM CYPRUS AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU, BUT REFUSED GO INTO DETAILS SINCE DOCUMENT "WAS CONFIDENTIAL". CBC ACCOUNT (FBIS TA201445) WAS AMBIGUOUS AS TO SOURCE CLERIDES INFORMATION BUT AGREES ON THE SCORE THAT HE REFUSED VIOLATE CONFIDENTIALITY OF HIS INFORMATION.

7. CONCLUSION: ON EVE LONDON DISCUSSIONS, CLERIDES GIVES EVERY IMPRESSION OF BEING MAN WHO IS WILLING TO FIGHT FOR HIS BELIEFS. WHILE IT CLEAR THAT HE DOES NOT INTEND TO OPENLY CHALLENGE ARCHBISHOP FOR PRESIDENCY NOW, IT EQUALLY APPARENT THAT HE WILL NO LONGER PLAY PAWN'S ROLE. BY LAYING OUT ALTERNATIVES SO STARKLY, HE HAS CHALLENGED MAKARIOS AND GOG TO EITHER ACCEPT HIS LEAD AND REALISM OR COME UP WITH SOMETHING BETTER. CRAWFORD

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